

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY S:RWAHERNE:GH

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S/S-O - MR. GAMBLE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 219209 TOSEC 260004

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AHERNE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER,HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: DRAFT LETTER TO DIGGS AND BURKE

1. I HAVE REVIEWED THE DIGGS/BURKE DRAFT REPLY AS YOU ASKED. TAKING SAFETY IN DISTANCE, I VENTURE TO SUGGEST THAT A POINT-BY-POINT RESPONSE TO THEIR LETTER IS INEVITABLY DEFENSIVE, AND GIVES THEM MORE ATTENTION THAN THEY HAVE EARNED. FURTHERMORE DIGGS IS PLAYING CATCH-UP BALL; YOUR DIALOGUE WITH JACKSON, JORDAN; AND SULLIVAN, AND YOUR BOSTON AND PHILADELPHIA SPEECHES, HAVE SHOWN THAT YOU CAN REACH THE BLACK COMMUNITY WITHOUT NECESSARILY REFERRING TO DIGGS AND HIS COLLEAGUES. THUS I EXPECT THERE IS A FAIR CHANCE THAT DIGGS HOPES TO DRAW AN ATTACK FROM YOU, SECURE IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THAT MAY BE THE ONLY THING WHICH COULD RALLY SUPPORT FOR HIM FROM BLACK LEADERS OUTSIDE THE CONGRESS WITH WHOM HE HAS LITTLE IN COMMON.

2. THUS I WOULD RECOMMEND A HIGH-ROAD REPLY ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

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BEGIN TEXT: I APPRECIATE RECEIVING YOUR THOUGHTS ON THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND ON OUR POLICY WITH

RESPECT TO THE CRITICAL PROBLEMS OF THAT AREA.

AS YOU KNOW, BOTH BEFORE MY FIRST TRIP TO AFRICA AND INCREASINGLY SINCE THEN, I HAVE SOUGHT THE VIEWS OF LEADERS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN THE US AND OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WITH A PARTICULAR INTEREST IN AFRICA. IN THOSE DISCUSSIONS, AND IN MY SPEECHES TO THE URBAN LEAGUE IN BOSTON IN EARLY AUGUST AND TO THE OIC CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA A FEW DAYS AGO, I ATTEMPTED TO MAKE CLEAR THE OBJECTIVES OF OUR AFRICAN POLICY, AND THE PRINCIPLES WHICH GUIDE IT. THE SAME PURPOSE HAS, I BELIEVE, BEEN SERVED BY THE FREQUENT BRIEFINGS WHICH YOU AND OTHER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAVE RECEIVED FROM UNDER SECRETARY ROGERS AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELER. I CAN UNDERSTAND THAT BECAUSE OF THE COMPLEXITY OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED IT HAS TAKEN SOME TIME TO DEVELOP YOUR VIEWS, AND I AM PLEASED TO NOW HAVE THEM, AS I DEPART FOR ZURICH TO MEET WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER.

LET ME RESTATE BRIEFLY FOR YOU THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR POLICY TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA:

-- OUR SUPPORT FOR A PROMPT AND PEACEFUL EVOLUTION TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA IS FIRM.

-- WE ARE EQUALLY FIRM IN OUR OPPOSITION TO THE PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND WE WILL NOT - ANY MORE IN THE FUTURE THAN WE HAVE IN THE PAST - COMPROMISE THAT POSITION.

-- OUR ACTIONS HAVE FROM THE BEGINNING BEEN PREDICATED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT NOTHING EFFECTIVE COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED IN NAMIBIA OR RHODESIA WITHOUT THE UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT OF THE LEADERS OF THE BLACK AFRICAN STATES MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED.

-- SIMILARLY, WE HAVE SUPPORTED THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL
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NAMIBIAN AND ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALIST GROUPS IN DETERMINING THEIR COUNTRIES' FUTURE. WE HAVE ALSO AGREED WITH THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS THAT THEY WOULD DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THESE GROUPS, AND THAT WE WOULD NOT. WHICH LIBERATION MOVEMENTS PARTICIPATE IN POTENTIAL TALKS WILL THEREFORE BE DECIDED BY THE LEADERS OF BLACK AFRICA.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT THE SUPPORT OF SOUTH AFRICA IS

ESSENTIAL TO RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AND THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO SEEK SUCH SUPPORT AT THE SAME TIME AS WE USE OUR INFLUENCE TO BRING PEACEFUL CHANGE, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY, AND BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS TO SOUTH AFRICA.

I AGREE ENTIRELY THAT IT WOULD BE A TRAGEDY IF AFRICAN ASPIRATIONS FOR MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA WERE IN ANY WAY SACRIFICED TO AMERICAN DOMESTIC ELECTORAL CONSIDERATIONS - AND I CAN FULLY UNDERSTAND THAT, FROM YOUR PERSPECTIVE, DOMESTIC POLITICAL ASPECTS WOULD BE A PROMINENT CONCERN. LET ME REASSURE YOU THAT OUR PERSPECTIVE IS QUITE DIFFERENT. WE SEEK TO ASSIST IN SOLVING, PEACEFULLY, THE DANGEROUS AND FRUSTRATING PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IN A WAY WHICH FULFILLS THE POSITIVE ASPIRATIONS OF ALL WHO LIVE THERE - WITHOUT REGARD TO THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

IT WOULD INDEED BE A TRAGEDY - AND COULD REPRESENT THE LOSS OF AN IRRETRIEVABLE OPPORTUNITY - IF ACCUSATIONS OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL MANUVERING SAPPED OUR EFFORT IN PURSUIT OF AN OBJECTIVE WHICH WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE IN THE BEST CIRCUMSTANCES.

AS YOU KNOW, I FREQUENTLY MEET WITH INTERESTED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO REPORT SIGNIFICANT FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. I PLAN TO DO SO WHEN I RETURN FROM MY PRESENT TRIP.

AGAIN I FIND IT HELPFUL TO KNOW YOUR VIEWS, AND I AM PARTICULARLY REASSURED TO KNOW THAT YOU SHARE MY CONCERN THAT OUR INITIATIVE IN AFRICA NOT BECOME A PAWN IN THE CURRENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN. END TEXT.

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ROBINSON

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